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The Modern South Arabian Languages

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T. M. Johnstone



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THE MODERN SOUTH ARABIAN LANGUAGES

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This is a comparative and descriptive survey of the modern South Arabian languages, Mehri, Harsūsi, Šheri and Socotri. After a presentation of the speakers, the consonantal system is analysed with special attention to glottalized consonants, the laterals, palatalization, the relation of *ṣ* and *h*. The morphology section first describes verbal derivation, tenses, conjugation and some special phenomena. Further sections are devoted to the morphology of the noun, of adjectives, numerals, demonstratives and pronouns. This is followed by a survey of case-marking prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions and verb modifiers. Syntax is represented by a shorter note, containing, among other things, illustrations of unreal conditional constructions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	page	1
1. THE SPEAKERS.		2
2. THE MSA PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM		3
2.1. The consonants		3
2.1.1. The status of <i>ʕ</i>		4
2.1.2. The glottalized consonants		6
2.1.3. The laterals <i>ṣ</i> and <i>ẓ</i>		7
2.1.4. The palato-alveolars and palatalized consonants		7
2.1.5. The consonants <i>m</i> , and <i>b</i> in Šheri		9
2.1.6. The relation of <i>ṣ</i> and <i>h</i> in the MSA languages		10
2.2. The vowel system and stress		10
3. MORPHOLOGY.		12
3.1. The morphology of the verb		12
3.1.1. The themes		12
3.1.2. Perfect, Imperfect, Subjunctive		13
3.1.3. The conjugation		15
3.1.4. Subjunctive in <i>-(ə)n</i>		18
3.1.5. The passive		19
3.1.6. The non-occurrence of <i>t</i> -		19
3.2. The morphology of the noun		20
3.3. Adjectives		22
3.4. The numerals		22

3.5. The demonstratives	24
3.6. The personal pronouns	25
3.7. Particles and adverbs	26
4. NOTES ON SYNTAX	28
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	29

1. THE SPEAKERS

The MODERN SOUTH ARABIAN (MSA) languages, which are now confined to a relatively small area in and around Dhofar and to the island of Socotra, are the last vestiges of a group of closely related South Semitic languages which were spoken over the whole of South Arabia. The modern languages exhibit certain features however which are absent from EPIGRAPHIC SOUTH ARABIAN (ESA), and it has been doubted whether they can be considered as directly related to the old literary dialects. They share many distinctive features with Ethiopic and the correlation of such features will no doubt throw light on some problems of ESA morphology.

The main modern languages are Mehri, Šheri and Socotri. MEHRI, whose speakers call the language *Məhrəyyət*, has a southern dialect, spoken in the Mukalla area and on the coast to the northeast of it, though little as far south as Mukalla itself; and a northern dialect whose main centre is in Negd in Dhofar, namely in the high valleys around the great complex of mountains in this province of Oman.¹ The Northern Mehri are semi-nomadic and spend certain seasons of the year with their camel herds in the mountain area with the Šheri speaking cowmen. Some of them speak only a little Šheri but many, mainly those with property in the mountain area, are bilingual, and some who are settled on the coast speak only Šheri and Arabic. All sections of the Mehri may number about 15,000, but many in the south speak only Arabic.

The languages of the HARSĪS (*Ḥər'si:yət*, Ar. *Ḥarsūsi*) and the BAṬĀHIRAH (Ar. *Baṭḥari*) are closely related to Mehri, so closely indeed that they could be termed dialects of Mehri, depending upon the terms of definition. However speakers of Harsūsi who number about 400-500 appear not to be related to the Mehri, though like them they are of high social status. They would seem indeed to have adopted a form of Mehri in the course of a long period of symbiosis with a southern group, their speech now differing from that of their Negdi neighbours in some ways more than from the Mehri of the Mukalla area, and showing certain novel features probably adopted from Šheri in the course of their drift northeast.

The Baṭharis are of lowly social class and are not related to the Mehri, being possible aboriginals of the area. They would seem to have adopted their language after having been made the serfs of the Mehri. They are now pastoral cave dwellers and fishermen and are few in number.

The ŠHERI language is spoken by a number of communities of different social status and tribal origin, numbering together about 5,000. Strictly speaking the language has no name amongst native speakers, and Šheri is merely an adjective of *šher* '(the) mountain(s)'. The Arabic name for the language is not Shihri, a particularly misleading term since it seems to relate to the place-name Shihri which is within the general locality, but Jibāli, a

¹Most of my work has been on this, more conservative, dialect of Mehri. The hitherto published work is almost all on the southern dialect(s).

straightforward translation of the word Šheri. The name Šxawri applied to it by the Südarabische Expedition is altogether erroneous. It cannot be related either to an Arabic by-form, or to the Mehri word *šhayr* 'mountain': the Mehra call the language *Šhə'əy*.

The problem is complicated by the fact that the name *Šhe'ri* (pl. *Šhe'ro*), though it superficially means only 'mountain(man)', in fact is a depejorative term, applied by the sections of Dhofari society of high social standing to those people living in the mountains, who were serfs by status. However it is likely that these people, till recently serfs, are the original speakers of Šheri, which was adopted by one or more waves of invaders who imposed their supremacy upon the earlier inhabitants. That at least one of the socially dominant groups was of Mehri origin is suggested by the fact that these people compose poetry in a specifically poetic language which is, at base, a Šherized form of Mehri. It would seem likely that this represents the heritage from a period when Mehri was the language of this social group, though the structure of the verse is not like that of Mehri verse at all.

The people of the KURIA MURIA Islands speak a dialect of Šheri which seems to their Šheri-speaking neighbours on the mainland like "baby-language" and is only just comprehensible to them.

Like the speakers of Šheri, the SOCOTRIS also have no word for their language. The name of their island, which is normally traced to a Sanskrit word meaning 'blessed', in their own language is *Sk'at'ri*. But this is rather a vague word in Socotri which also means 'everything, world' (*dənya*) and moreover it has no adjectival derivate which can be correlated with the Arabic word *Suqutri*.

The native speakers, who number about 6,000, can be divided into three or four main socio-economic groups: former slaves, concentrated mainly in Sūq (*Šək'*) but found in lesser numbers in other large towns; the former ruling class, who are Mehri by origin but with a good deal of Arab and Socotri admixture, invariably bilingual in Arabic and Socotri; the semi-nomadic cow-herding people of the high plain and the fishing communities who probably are the aboriginals; the bedouin of the high desert plain who are few in number and probably only a section of the preceding group.

The language of the mountain people is difficult for townspeople to understand. It is probably a good deal more extensive in vocabulary, and certainly includes some words in which there occur consonants which do not occur in Socotri texts recorded either by the SAE or by myself. They were recorded by me only as word isolates, refer for the most part to legal processes, and may be borrowed from Mehri.

2. THE MSA PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM

2.1. The Consonants

The consonant system of these languages bears a striking resemblance to those of the Ethiopian languages as regards the occurrence of ejectives (as against the velarized consonants of Arabic) and, for some languages of the group, the almost complete non-occurrence of the pharyngeal ʕ. The system is notable also for the occurrence of the voiceless and voiced laterals *š* and *z* which are represented in the orthography of many of the Ethiopian languages and may well have been laterals in Ethiopic.

The total range of consonants in the MSA languages is set out below (vcs. for 'voiceless', GL. for 'glottalized' ~ ejective, VCD. for 'voiced'):

TABLE 1

	PLOSIVE			FRICATIVE			NASAL	LIQUID or ROLLED	
	VCS.	GL.	VCD.	VCS.	GL.	VCD.	VCD.	GL.	VCD.
Labial and									
Labio-dental			<i>b</i>	<i>β</i>		<i>w</i>	<i>m</i>		
Denti-alveolar	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>θ</i>	<i>'ə</i>	<i>ð</i>		<i>'l</i>	<i>l</i>
				<i>s</i>	<i>s'</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>'r</i>	<i>r</i>
Palato-alveolar			<i>j</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʃ'</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>n</i>		
Lateral				<i>ʃ</i>		<i>ʒ</i>			
Palatal						<i>y</i>			
Velar	<i>k</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>x</i>		<i>ɣ</i>			
Pharyngeal				<i>ħ</i>		<i>ʕ</i>			
Glottal	<i>ʔ</i>			<i>h</i>					

Not all of these consonants occur in all of the MSA languages. Except in borrowed words *x* and *ɣ* do not occur in Socotri and there is consequent loss of distinction between *x/h* and *ɣ/ʕ*. Thus cf. M(ehri) *ɣayg* with S(ocotri) *'ayg* 'man'; and M *ɣəɾo:b* with S *'əɾəb* 'to know'.

In both Socotri and the Southern Mehri dialects there is loss of distinction as between *t/θ*, *t'/'ə* and *d/ð*; thus cf. Northern M *θəɾo:*, Southern M *təɾo:*, S *tɾə*; NM *ʔə-*, SM *də-*, S *də-*, *də-* 'of'; NM *'əɾə*, SM *t'ar*, S *t'ar* 'upon'.

2.1.1 THE STATUS OF *ʕ*

In M and H(arsūsi) the pharyngeal *ʕ* does not occur, or strictly speaking does not occur regularly or predictably, except in borrowed words. Its non-occurrence however has a marked effect on syllabication, and it is curious that some of these resultant features occur in the languages in which *ʕ* does occur specifically. Thus in M and Š(heri) forms which normally have prominent final syllables have prominent penultimate syllables where the final of their three radicals is *ʕ*. In S, where such forms normally have short, prominent penultimate syllables, the syllable is long where the final syllable is *ʕ*. Thus contrast:

TABLE 2

M <i>ɾə'fo:s</i>	Š <i>ɾə'fo:s</i>	S <i>'nəfo:g</i>	'to kick'
<i>'no:fa</i>	<i>'ni:faʕ</i>	<i>'na:fa</i>	'to be of use'

Although *ʕ* occurs explicitly as a radical in Š and S, it tends to be replaced by *ʔ* in both of these languages, though in neither is the appearance of *ʔ* < *ʕ* either regular or predictable. This tendency throws some light on the disappearance of *ʕ*, except as an orthographic feature, in Ethiopian languages.

The following are a few examples of the occurrence of *ʕ* in M, contrary to expectation, in words not borrowed from Arabic:

TABLE 3

' ^ε aybər	(H 'ʔaybər)	'to gaze into the distance'
' ^ε a:ðər	(H <i>idem</i>)	'excuse'
' ^ε a:g'zo:n		'group of old women'
' ^ε a:lɛ:'k'e:n	(dim. of ʔe:li:k')	'little camel calf'
' ^ε a:m'dəy	(but unaffixed ʔa:mo:d)	'he hit me deliberately'
' ^ε ayri	(< Š ' ^ε e'ri)	'tom-cat'
a' ^ε 's'e:		'to get mixed up'
' ^ε a:'wi:g		'to divert'
ʃə' ^ε 'ye:	(H ʃə' ^ε 'ye:)	'to pity'

In many words borrowed from O(mani) A(rabic), even those not otherwise assimilated to M phonology, ʔ usually occurs rather than ^ε, or occurs as a free variant of ^ε. Moreover words occur often in more than one state of assimilation. Thus:

TABLE 4

ʔaʃʃ, ʔa:ʃʃ	(OA ^ε aʃʃ)	'baggage'
ʔaks, ʔa:ks	(OA ^ε aks)	'photograph'
ʔa:k'd	(H ʔa:k'əd, OA ^ε agd)	'marriage contract'
ʔa:si:n	(H <i>idem</i> , OA ^ε asi:n)	'juice'
ʔəʃraɣn	(OA ^ε iʃri:n)	'twenty'
ma:'di:n	(ʃ 'ma ^ε dən)	'copper'

In Socotri both pharyngals tend to become glottals, as in certain of the Ethiopian languages. Thus:

TABLE 5

ha, ha	'here'
ə ^ε hi, ə ^ʔ hi, ə ^ʔ hi	'brother'
^ε əd, ʔəd	'life'
^ε aʃ, ʔaʃ	'up to'

For the MSA languages as a group it could probably be argued that ^ε as a consonant passes easily into a conditioning of the vowel of the contiguous syllable, and sometimes also of a following syllable.

Thus in the Š example ʃa:m (a variant of ʃa^εm 'foot') the vowel a is lengthened and realized with the pharyngeal constriction required for the enunciation of ^ε. This feature can be represented as in ʃa:m.

In M this pharyngeal constriction is absent but the vowel ɛ occurs in these circumstances in place of a. In H a is often replaced by ya(:) in these circumstances, and in all the mainland languages there is (often) concomitant palatalization of contiguous velars. Thus:

TABLE 6

\tilde{S}	M	\dot{H}	
$\underline{ba}:l$, $ba^{\epsilon}l$, $b^{\epsilon}al$	$b\epsilon:l$	$bya:l$	'possessor &c.'
$y\grave{a}nk\dot{y}a^{\epsilon}$	$y\grave{a}nk\dot{y}\epsilon:$, $y\grave{a}nk\epsilon:?$	$y\grave{a}nkya:$	'he may come'

2.1.2. THE GLOTTALIZED CONSONANTS

The fact that there is in the MSA languages a series of glottalized consonants is a feature of great interest for the Ethiopian languages. It has been argued by most Semitists that the original emphatic consonants of the Semitic languages were velarized consonants, as in Arabic, and that the ejectives in the Semitic languages of Ethiopia developed locally, perhaps under the influence of the Cushitic languages of the area.²

The glottalization in the realization of these consonants seems not to be as strong as in the equivalent consonants in, say, Amharic and it does seem to be true that the aspiration of most of the corresponding non-glottalized consonants constitutes an important element in the distinction of glottalized/non-glottalized pairs.

Nevertheless although the degree of glottalization can vary in strength, dependent on a number of factors, such as whether a consonant is initial, medial, or final and the effect of contiguous consonants, it is a distinctive feature of some importance. In such contexts the quality of the vowels being raised, as for example in the M minimal pair:

$t\circ:b$	'to repent'	$t'\circ:b$	'tree name'
------------	-------------	-------------	-------------

What is doubtful is the relation of the glottalized consonants to the categories "voiced" and "voiceless". The post-glottalized (ejective) consonants have partially voiced and more rarely wholly voiced variants. Similarly the pre-glottalized consonant θ° has a voiceless variant θ' .

Native speakers seem to have difficulty on occasions in distinguishing between certain of these voiced variants of glottalized consonants and their non-glottalized (voiced) correlates. This is particularly so in regard to the "contrasting" pair s'/z , though to my ear there is considerably more tenseness involved in the articulation of s' .

Certain morphological features show that from a classificatory point of view the mainland languages put the glottalized consonants with the voiced consonants. Thus the definite article and the prefix to the intensive-conative verbal theme are $a-/ \epsilon-$ before voiced and glottalized consonants, but zero before voiceless consonants.³ Thus:

TABLE 7

M	$a-ge:d$	'the skin'	$a-k'a:b$	'the heart'	$kawb$	'a/the wolf'
\dot{H}	$a-go:d$		$a-k'alb$		$kawb$, $ko:b$	
\tilde{S}	$\epsilon-j\circ:d$		$\epsilon-k'\epsilon lb$		$k\circ:b$	

²But cf. Ullendorff, *The Semitic languages of Ethiopia: A comparative phonology*, London 1955, p. 155. Ullendorff cites Brockelmann (GVG, i, p. 121) and a more explicit claim by Bergsträsser (*Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen*, Munich 1928, p. 5).

³For a fuller statement, see the author's article on the definite article listed in the bibliography.

M	<i>ago:ɾəb</i>	'to try'	<i>ak'o:bəl</i>	'to point to'	<i>ko:ɾəm</i>	'to be generous'
Ḥ	<i>age:ɾəb</i>		<i>ak'a:bel</i>	the <i>qiblah</i> ,	<i>ke:ɾəm</i>	
Ṣ	<i>ε'gəɾb</i>		<i>εk'wāl</i>	(trans.)'	<i>'ku'hum</i>	

Since the phonetic feature involved (namely the fact that the glottalized consonants are perhaps best defined as partially voiced, rather than either voiced or voiceless) is paralleled by the morphological treatment of the glottalized consonants as voiced consonants, it is clear that further experimental work on this series of consonants should yield interesting results.

The use of the symbols 'ɾ and 'l in the series of glottalized consonants set out in the general table above is tentative. In words, such as M *səgo:'ɾ* ('to go') and *məgo:'l* ('to turn aside'), the glottalization seemed to myself and one of my colleagues, Professor J. Carnochan, to be part of the vocalic segment of the syllable. Since such glottalization is regularly associated with ɾ and l however, it seems to explain the observed facts better to postulate the existence of the glottalized consonants 'ɾ and 'l. It is of interest in this context that from the earliest times ɾ and l are defined as having emphatic allophones in Arabic.

2.1.3. THE LATERALS ʕ AND ẓ

These sounds, which have disappeared from the other Semitic languages, are undoubtedly very old. The description of *ḏād* given by the Arab grammarians leaves little doubt that it in early Islamic times represented a voiced lateral (here ẓ) and not the velarized *d* which later replaced the lateral sound. Its voiceless equivalent, ʕ, is a member of the early Semitic triad *s/š/ṣ*, its existence being attested in Ethiopic and Hebrew orthography, though the sound itself has disappeared, and in the orthography of Epigraphic South Arabian.

The sounds are produced by retracting the right corner of the mouth and forcing a stream of air between the teeth and the inside of the cheek at the right side of the mouth, with the tongue-tip in the *l*-position.

2.1.4. THE PALATO-ALVEOLARS AND PALATALIZED CONSONANTS

The palato-alveolars ʕ' and ẓ' arise through the fronting and palatalization of the velars *k'* and *g*; and ʕ, where it is not original, from the fronting and palatalization of *k*. Thus compare the following Ṣ examples:

TABLE 8

<i>ʕ'iret</i>	'town'	[Sem. <i>kry</i>]
<i>məʕ'hayrer</i>	'shin-bone'	[M <i>mək'hayrər</i> ; cf. also S <i>kəhayrhor</i> 'clavicles']
<i>ʕ'ε:n</i>	'scorpion'	[MḤ <i>k'əbayn</i>]
<i>ʕ'əfaḥ</i>	'elbow'	[MḤ <i>ʕ'əḥḥəy</i> , Sem. <i>kəw/y(?)</i>]
<i>ʕuʕ'i</i>	'to drink'	[M <i>tək'</i> (< <i>h-t-k'y</i> < <i>ʕky</i>)]
<i>mənʕ'iret</i>	'a rude gesture'	[M <i>mənək'əre:t</i>]
<i>kayʕ'</i>	'coast'	[M <i>kayk'</i>]

Compare also S *hanʕ'iyoh* 'crab' and perhaps *hanʕ'uk* (or *həncuk*?) 'land-crab', though these seem to be the only occurrences of ʕ' in S.

The ejective $\check{\text{š}}$ is also relatable to š as in the example:

M	$\check{\text{š}}'\text{əba}?$	'finger'
H	$h\check{\text{u}}\check{\text{š}}'\text{ba}?$	
$\tilde{\text{S}}$	$\text{š}'\text{ba}^{\text{c}}$	
S	$\text{ʔəš}'\text{ba}^{\text{c}}$	

It might indeed be argued that in MH $\check{\text{š}}$ is relatable only to $\text{š}'$ and in $\tilde{\text{S}}$ only to k' . This seems to fit all the known facts, but on the other hand $\check{\text{š}}$ is not of common occurrence, though it occurs more frequently in $\tilde{\text{S}}$ than in M.

The sibilant $\check{\text{š}}$, resulting from the palatalization of k , occurs sporadically in all the MSA languages, as e.g.:

MH	$\check{\text{š}}\text{əbde:t}$	'liver'
$\tilde{\text{S}}$	$\check{\text{š}}\text{ubdet}$	
S	$\check{\text{š}}\text{əbdəh}$	

The incidence of $\check{\text{š}} < k$ is, however, higher in $\tilde{\text{S}}$ than in the other MSA languages. Thus:

TABLE 9

M	H	$\tilde{\text{S}}$	S	
$k\text{ənəmo:t}$	$k\text{ənəmo:t}$	$\check{\text{š}}\text{ini:t}$	$k\text{anum}$	'louse'
$k\text{e:mi:m},$ $\check{\text{š}}\text{e:mi:m}$	$\check{\text{š}}\text{əmi:m}$	$\check{\text{š}}\text{imēm}$		'teat-mask'
$d\text{əha:k}$	$d\text{əha:k}$	$d\text{h}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{š}}$		'to skin'
$k\text{e:rə}\check{\text{š}}$	$k\text{e:rə}\check{\text{š}}$	$\check{\text{š}}\text{ur}\check{\text{š}}$	$\check{\text{š}}\text{erə}\check{\text{š}}$	'belly'
ʔəkəy	ʔəti:	$\check{\text{š}}\text{i}$	$k\text{i}$	'we two'
$r\text{i:ko:b}$	$r\text{əke:b}$	$r\check{\text{š}}\text{əb}$		'riding-camels'

The palato-alveolar $\check{\text{ž}}$, which does not occur in M or H, in $\tilde{\text{S}}$ is derived from g , and in S from g or k' . Since in many dialects of S k' is usually (but not always) realized as the voiced correlate of k' it may be that $\check{\text{ž}}$ is derived from this variant, or alternatively that it is the (non-glottalized) voiced correlate of $\check{\text{š}}$. The following are representative examples of $\check{\text{ž}} < g$ in $\tilde{\text{S}}$:

TABLE 10

S	$\tilde{\text{S}}$	M	
$\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{ž}}\text{əh}$	$(t\check{\text{e}}\theta)$	$(t\check{\text{e}}:\theta)$	'woman'
$\check{\text{ž}}\text{irēməh},$ $g\text{irēməh}$	$\check{\text{ž}}\text{ir}\check{\text{t}}$	$g\text{i:re:mo:t}$	'dōm fruit'
$\text{fə}\check{\text{ž}}\text{hər}$ 'field'	fəgr	$(g\text{ərdi:}\check{\text{š}})$	'desert; bedouin country'
$\check{\text{ž}}\text{id}$	$\check{\text{ž}}\text{id}$	$(\text{ʔ}\text{a:rk}')$	'nerve'
$(m\text{əb}^{\text{c}}\text{əloh})$	$\check{\text{ž}}\text{irit}$	$g\text{əre:t}$	'f. slave'
$\text{ʔ}\check{\text{a}}ygi$	$\gamma\check{\text{u}}\check{\text{ž}}\text{i}, \gamma\text{ə}\check{\text{ž}}\text{i}$	γawgi	'two men'

Compare the following examples of $\check{z} < k'$ in S:

S	\bar{S}	M	
$\check{z}adhər$	$(k'ah\delta)$	$k'a:dər$	'pot'
$he\check{z}ə$	$\check{z}ek'e$	$hək'o:$	'to water'
$ʕam\check{z}əhi$	$ʕamk'i$	$ʕa:mk'əy$	'medium'

Besides the palatals discussed above palatalization occurs extensively in both \bar{S} and S. In Socotri g , k' and k may occur in the contiguity of the front vowels as j (g^y , $d\check{z}$), c' and c ($t\check{z}$, k^y) respectively. These allophones, except j , are rather unstable. In the case of $j < g$ however, the influence of Arabic is almost certainly a factor of importance. Thus:

$jə:dah$ 'to arrive'; $jəhəm$ 'to arrive at midday'; $jə:d$ 'to examine'; $jizi$ 'to stop working'; $jəhi$ 'valley, water-course', &c.: $ci\check{z}iki$ 'we two remained' ($< k^y$); $l-ik^y\alpha l$ 'that he may' ($k(h)l$); $yək^yil$ 'he measures' ($k^y l$); $kiri$ 'it was short' (k^y); $yək^yotəb$ 'he writes' ($k^y t b$), &c.: $l-ic'abət$ 'that he may teach' ($k' b t$); $c'a'ihər$ 'houses' ($k' ʕ r$); $mīc'hal$ 'receptacle' ($k' h l$); $yəc'art'um$ 'he chews' ($k' r t' m$), &c.

Compare also ($g^y < g < k'$):

$yəg^yobər$ 'he buries' ($k' b r$); $(i)g^yudəm$ 'it is closed' ($k' d m$); $yəg^yat$ 'he calculates' ($k' w t ʔ$) &c.

In \bar{S} such palatalized variants occur only for g and l , and the allophones which occur in the contiguity of front vowels, namely j (g^y) and \check{z} , are more stable. Thus:

δjir 'pipe' ($\delta g r$); $\delta \check{z}jun$ 'cup' ($\delta n g n$); jeb 'vulva' ($g b b ʔ$); $jiriet$ 'mangy' ($g r b$); $ʔajeg$ 'little man' ($ʔ y g$); $kijət$ 'black centipede'; $tufur$ 'rich man' ($t g r$); $εjh$ 'face' ($w g h$); $gižed$ 'skins' ($g l d$); $ʔuži$ 'expensive' ($ʔ l w / y$); $kfižət$ 'fruit' ($k f l$); $kužet$ 'kidney' ($k l w / y$); $ək'tə:ž$ 'to get oneself ready' ($k' b l$); $k'o:ži$ 'tribesman' ($k' b l$); $mək'tiži$ 'naughty' ($k' l y$); $mīži$ 'to be full' ($m l y / ʔ$); $mīžhət$ 'salt' ($m l k$); $nī:žin$ 'ant' ($n m l$); $es'əži$ 'to pray' ($s' l w / y$) &c.

2.1.5. THE CONSONANTS m , AND b IN \bar{S}

Neither m nor b may occur in intervocalic position in \bar{S} . Though there appear to be exceptions, most of these can be explained in terms of anaptyctics not affecting syllabication. In place of intervocalic b , a form, dependent on its syllabic and phonetic features, has compensatory lengthening of the vowel, or one of the semi-vowels occurs. In place of intervocalic m , a form has compensatory lengthening, nasalization and raising of the vowel. The raising of a vowel however occurs regularly with the nasals m and n in any case. Thus:

S	M	
$lə:d$	$ləbo:d$	'to hit'
$mayrɛ:t$	$mɔrbe:t$	'acquaintance(ship)'
$ktisət, ktisət$	$kətəbo:t$	'she wrote'
$(w)ot$	$a-bayt$	'the house'
$halk'ū:t$	$həlk'əmo:t$	'adam's apple'
$ʔəž$	$ʔəmo:ž$	'to wink, blink'
$rī:d$	$rəme:d$	'ash'
$ū:tən$	$a-mo:tən$	'the flesh of the back'

Although nasalization is normally found in words with radical *m* when it occurs intervocalically, it is not invariably found, especially in contexts involving nasal consonants, as in the example *ní:žín* (*nm̥l*) already quoted.

2.1.6. THE RELATION OF *š* AND *h* IN THE MSA LANGUAGES

In *Š*, *š* frequently occurs where M and its dialects have *h*, and where S has *h*, *yh*, *hy*, *y* or *š*. Thus:

TABLE 11

M	<i>Š</i>	S	
- <i>h</i>	- <i>š</i>	- <i>h</i> , - <i>š</i>	'his, him'
<i>ha(h)</i>	<i>še</i>	<i>yhe</i>	'he'
<i>həbo:d</i>	<i>šɔ:d</i>		'to crouch'
<i>həd</i>	<i>šed</i>	<i>šəd</i> , <i>həd</i>	'to block'
<i>ho:ʃəl</i>	<i>šɔʃəl</i>		'belly'
<i>hi:ma</i>	<i>šĩ^c</i>	<i>hema^c</i>	'to hear'
<i>hem</i>	<i>šum</i>	<i>šem</i>	'name'
<i>həro:k'</i>	<i>šɔro:k'</i>	<i>(y)həro:k'</i>	'to steal'
<i>he:t</i>	<i>šet</i>	<i>yaʔt</i>	'six'
<i>mah</i>	<i>mašh</i>		'ghee'
<i>bəhe:l</i>	<i>bešəl</i>	<i>behəl</i>	'to be cooked'
<i>xo:t</i>	<i>šxət</i>	<i>šhoh</i>	'armpit'

The *Ḥ* word for the last example however is *məšxawt*, but this probably reflects *Š* influence.

In one or two instances M *h* corresponds to S *yh/š*, as *həmo:ž*, S *yhamaž* 'to shake milk for butter' and M *məžo:ro:k* 'teeth', S *məžoro:š* 'molar teeth'.

2.2. The Vowel System and Stress

Vowel quality and quantity are closely related to stress in the MSA languages and for this reason it is convenient to treat them together. Unless otherwise defined the vowel symbols used below can be assumed to have approximately their IPA values.

In M and *Ḥ* the vowel system consists of two short vowels, *a* and *ə*, and five long vowels *a:* (*ε:*), *e:*, *i:*, *o:* and *u:*. With certain exceptions *a* occurs only in stressed closed syllables while *ə* can occur in either open or closed syllables, stressed or unstressed.

In final "open" unstressed syllables the short vowels *a* and *i* can occur. These certainly arise from the long vowels *a:* (< *a^c*) and *i:* (< *i:*, *yi*, *iy*), and may indeed be definable in phonological terms as half-long. Compare MH *no:ka*, *no:ka* 'to come'; M *abε:li*, *Ḥ abya:li* 'God' (lit. 'my master'). Phonetically all final "open" syllables are closed by *h* or *ʔ* and this may contribute to the shortening of such vowels.

Long vowels occur only in stressed open syllables or stressed final -VVC syllables. Thus cf. *Ḥ ləbo:d* 'he hit' with *ləbədo:t* 'she hit'; it is possible however for a form to have more than one stressed long vowel, as e.g. M *ʔa:mo:ɾ* 'he said'. In *Ḥ* such forms tend to shorten the non-final long vowel, as e.g. *ʔamo:ɾ* 'he said'.

In both M and H the quality of *e:* and *o:* is very close in most consonantal environments, and they are difficult to distinguish phonetically from *i:* and *u:* respectively. Both *e:* and *o:* (and occasionally *i:* and *u:*) relate to earlier *a:* and to stressed short *a*. Thus M *ʃo:s* 'axe', *kəto:b* 'he wrote' and *səbe:b* 'cause'. It is not possible to say what determines whether an earlier stressed *a* becomes *e:* or *o:* because the facts are not altogether clear, but it may be that $-aC > e:C$, whereas $-aC(a) > o:C$. The evidence from Ethiopic seems to indicate that MSA verbs may have retained their final vowel longer than nouns. MSA feminine nouns however have both *e* and *o* feminine endings, as, e.g. M *rəkəbe:t*, Š *ʔi'ɾet* 'town' and M *rəxəmo:t*, Š *rxūt* 'Egyptian vulture'.

In M and H the long vowel *a:* is limited in occurrence to certain phonetic contexts, principally those involving ʕ radicals, glottalized consonants and, in certain cases, the guttural consonants other than ʕ. However M and H differ in a number of respects in relation to the last group, as, e.g.: M *ʔo:bər*, H *ʔa:bər* 'pregnant camel'; M *ko:lɪ*, H *ka:l* 'to beckon'; M *xo:məs*, H *xa:məh* 'fifth', &c.

In Š and S the range of vowels is larger, namely *a*, *e*, *ɛ*, *ə*, *i*, *o*, *ɔ*, and *u*, all of which can occur nasalised in Š under the influence of a *m* radical.

In S, although there are definable exceptions, *ɔ* and *ɛ* occur only in closed syllables, while *o* and *e* occur in open stressed syllables (and before *h* in final unstressed syllables).

In Š and S vowels are long in stressed open syllables and in final stressed VC syllables, but it would seem that length here is a phonetic rather than a phonological feature. In both Š and S however the vowel of the penultimate syllable of forms such as Š *le:taɣ*, S *la:taʕ* (to kill) seems to be phonologically long, under the influence of the final ʕ/ɣ radical. In Š also where *b* or *m* is elided intervocalically, the resulting vowel seems to be phonologically long.

The evidence from MH indicates that in the MSA languages there has been regression of stress in forms which had earlier had a series of short syllables, the stressed vowel being lengthened and raised to *o:* or *e:*. The process has been modified in Š however and to some extent reversed in S. Thus compare with a possible earlier *rakaza*, M *rə'ko:z*, Š *rə'kɔz* (*rəkɔz*) and S *'rəkɔz* 'to straighten; to stick in' &c.

In Š however and to a lesser extent in S the consonantal context has a much greater effect on the quality of the vowels of forms, and in Š also on the stress pattern of forms.

Thus in MH except where gutturals are involved, in the simple sound verb an earlier *CaCaC(a)* regularly gives *CəCo:C* (*o:* > *aw* after glottalized and lateral consonants). Compare:

M	Š	S	
<i>bəro:k</i>	<i>'be'ɾək</i>		'to kneel'
<i>bəro:z</i>	<i>'bi'ɾɔz</i>		'to come out; receive visitors'
<i>bə'zawɾ</i>	<i>'bɔ'zɔɾ</i>	<i>'bəzər</i>	'to tear'
<i>dəfo:r</i>	<i>'dɔ'fɔɾ</i>	<i>'dəfɔɾ</i>	'to push'
<i>dəko:m</i>	<i>'du'kum</i>	<i>'dəkɔm</i>	'to blunt'; (S) 'to push'
<i>ʃədo:r</i>	<i>'ʃɔ'dɔɾ</i>		'to outstrip'
<i>ʃə'k'awɧ</i>	<i>ʃk'ɔɧ</i>		'to shatter'
<i>ʃəro:k</i>	<i>'ʃe'ɾək</i>		'to wipe'
<i>ʃəto:r</i>	<i>ʃtɔɾ</i>		'to turn aside'
<i>gəʔo:m</i>	<i>'go'ʔum</i>		'to lop off'
<i>gəzo:m</i>	<i>'gu'zum</i>	<i>'gəzɔm</i>	'to swear'

M	\tilde{S}	S	(continued)
<i>həro:k'</i>	<i>'ʕo'ro:k'</i>	<i>'hyəro:k'</i>	'to steal'
<i>kəbo:n</i>	<i>ku:n</i>		'to hide'
<i>kəro:b</i>	<i>'kə'ro:b</i>		'to screw'
<i>kəso:l</i>	<i>ksəl</i>		'to be too tired'
<i>kəto:b</i>	<i>ktəb</i>	<i>ktəb</i>	'to write'
<i>k'ədo:m</i>	<i>'k'o'dum</i>	<i>'k'ədəm</i>	(M) 'to precede'; (\tilde{S}) 'to take out the animals in the morning'; (S) 'to stand guard; precede'

It is difficult to generalise when so much remains to be observed but the facts indicate, as was suggested above, that in the MSA languages the stress regressed to the final syllable wherever there was no pre-final long syllable in a form. Certain exceptions to this general tendency can be defined, as for example in the forms having a final guttural radical discussed above.

In \tilde{S} however a contrary tendency has resulted in many forms having multiple stress, the vowels of stressed open syllables being phonetically long, but probably phonologically short.

In S except in very few forms (such as those of unsuffixed subjunctive forms) stress is regularly penultimate and all vowels phonologically short. The quality of these phonologically short vowels in final position nevertheless shows fairly clearly that they were earlier long vowels both in S and in \tilde{S} .

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. The Morphology of the Verb

3.1.1. THE THEMES

The MSA verbal system agrees with N. Semitic in that the derived themes are characterised by prefixation and infixation and by the lengthening of internal vowels; but it agrees with S. Semitic in that the prefixes and infixes may be applied to more than one kind of base, though not in all themes. Thus compare the schema of the simple and derived themes set out below:

TABLE 12

		(1)	(2)
SIMPLE VERB	M	$CəCo:C$	$Ce:CəC$
	\dot{H}	$CəCo:C$	$Ce:CəC$
	\tilde{S}	$Cə'CəC$	$'CeCəC$
	S	$'CəCəC$	$'CeCəC$
INTENSIVE-CONATIVE	M	$(a)Co:CəC^4$	
	\dot{H}	$(a)Ce:CəC^4$	
	\tilde{S}	$(\epsilon)'CəCəC^4$	
	S	$'CoCəC$	

⁴The prefix is added only to verbs whose initial radical is voiced or glottalized.

		(1)	(2)	(Table 12 continued)
CAUSATIVE	M	(hə)CCo:C		
	H	(a)CCo:C		
	Š	(ε)C'CeC		
	S	'(ə)CCəC		
REFLEXIVE	M	əCtəCo:C	Ca:tCəC ⁵	
	H	əCtəCo:C	'CatCəC	
	Š	əCtə'CeC	'CəCCəC	
	S	?	'CəCəCəC	
CAUSATIVE-REFLEXIVE	M	šəCCo:C	šəCe:CəC	
	H	šəCCo:C	šə'CəCəC	
	Š	šəC'CeC	šə'CeCəC	
	S	'šəCCəC	šə'CaCəC ⁶	

These may be set out in other ways and the following schema for M shows a closer approximation to Ethiopic, given that internal gemination is not a feature of MSA derived verbs.

TABLE 13

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
	STEM	CAUS.	REFLEX.	CAUS. REFL.
1. SIMPLE VERB	CəCo:C/Ce:CəC	(hə)CCo:C	əCtəCo:C	šəCCo:C
2. INTENSIVE-CONATIVE	(a)Co:CəC	-	Ca:tCəC	šəCe:CəC

It will be noted that there are no derived themes with a *t*- or an *n*- prefix, though the latter occurs with quadriliteral verbs.

3.1.2. PERFECT, IMPERFECT, SUBJUNCTIVE

Like Ethiopic, the subjunctive of MSA differs in syllabication from the imperfect. Note the suffix *-n* of the imperfect in (2a), (1c), and (2d). Thus (perfect/imperf./subj.):

TABLE 14

(1a.1)	MH	kəto:b/yəko:təb/yəkte:b	'to write'
	Š	kə'təb/yə'kə'təb/'yək'tub	
	S	'kə'təb/yə'kə'təb/l-ik'təb	

⁵This is usually realized as 'CatCəC, 'CatəCəC the first of which may be a better base form for M.

⁶In this case šə'CəCəC is probably the base-form, but in the examples collected the initial radical requires the occurrence of a following *a*.

(Table 14 continued)

(1a.2)	M _H	<i>te:ber// yətbo:r</i> ⁷	'to be broken'
	Š	<i>te:r/yəti'ər/yə't'bo:r</i>	
	S	<i>'dekər/yə'dekər/l-id'kər</i>	'to mention'
(2a)	M	<i>aro:kəb/ya'rakbən/yaro:kəb</i>	'to put (a pot) on the fire'
	H	<i>are:kəb/yare:kəbən/yare:kəb</i>	
	Š	<i>ε'rəkəb/yə'rukbən/yə'rəkəb</i>	
	S	<i>zoməl/yə'zomələn/l-izōməl</i>	'to put saddle-cloths on'
(1b)	M	<i>hənsə:m/yəhənsə:m/yə'hənsəm</i>	'to breathe'
	H	<i>ansə:m/yansə:m/yə'hənsəm</i>	
	Š	<i>en'sim/yən'sum/'yēnsəm</i> ⁸	
	S	<i>'ənšər/yə'nēšur/'l-ənšər</i> ⁹	'to advance'
(1c)	M	<i>əktələ:f/yəktələ:fən/yəktələ:f</i>	'to be troubled'
	H	<i>əktələ:f/yəktələ:fən/yəkte:ləf</i>	
	Š	<i>ək'te'lef/yək'te'lefen/yəktə'ləf</i>	
	S	-	
(2c)	M	<i>'fatəgər/yəftəgo:r/yəfte:gər</i>	'to burst, split open'
	H	<i>'fatgər/yəftəgo:r/yəf'təgər</i>	
	Š	<i>'fətgur/yəf'te'gər/yəf'tegər</i>	
	S	<i>'mətədər/yəm'tədər/l-im'tədər</i>	'to ponder'
(1d)	M	<i>šəwbo:d/yəšəwbo:d/yə'šəlbəd</i>	'to be hit'
	H	<i>šəlbə:d/yəšəlbə:d/yə'šəlbəd</i>	
	Š	<i>šəl'bed/yəšələ:d/yə'šəlbəd</i>	
	S	<i>'šəmtəl/yəš'mətəl/l-i'šəmtəl</i>	'to talk with each other'
(2d)	M	<i>šəle:bəd/yəšləbdən/yəšlə:bəd</i>	'to hit back, try and hit each other'
	H	<i>šə'ləbəd/yəš'ləbdən/yəš'ləbəd</i>	
	Š	<i>šə'le:d/yəš'ləbdən/yəšlə:d</i>	
	S	<i>šə'haləf/yəš'haləf/l-i'šəhləf</i>	'to go early'

⁷In 1a.2 both the Š and S patterns indicate that the M_H imperfect was earlier *yəCəCo:C*. Since anaptyctic vowels occur freely in M_H wherever two-consonant clusters occur, this distinction can no longer be made.

⁸Viz. *em* > *im* and *əm* > *um*.

⁹Viz. *ər* > *ur*.

3.1.3. CONJUGATION

The verb in MSA has three numbers, singular, dual and plural. The dual has three persons including a first person.¹⁰ The relevant suffixes and affixes for the PERFECT are:

TABLE 15

		MH	Š	S
Sing.	3 m.	-	-	-
	3 f.	-o:t/-e:t ¹¹	-o:t	-oh
	2 m.	-k	-k	-k
	2 f.	-š	-š	-š
	1 c.	-k	-k	-k
Du.	3 m.	-o:	- 'o	-o
	3 f.	-to:	- 'to	-əto
	2 c.	-ki	-š <i>i</i>	-ki
	1 c.	-ki	-š <i>i</i>	-ki
Pl.	3 m.	V-əm/V ¹²	-	V ¹²
	3 f.	-	-	-
	2 m.	-kəm	-kum	-kən
	2 f.	-kən	-kən	-kən
	1 c.	-ən	-ən	-ən

For the IMPERFECT AND SUBJUNCTIVE:

TABLE 16

		M	Š	S
Sing.	3 m.	yə-	yə-	yə-
	3 f.	tə-	tə-	tə-
	2 m.	tə-	tə-	tə-
	2 f.	tə-...V/ <i>i</i> ¹³	tə-...V	tə-...V
	1 c.	ə-	ə-	ə-
Dual	3 m.	yə-...-o:	yə-...-o	yə-...-o
	3 f.	tə-...-o:	tə-...-o	tə-...-o
	2 c.	tə-...-o:	tə-...-o	tə-...-o
	1 c.	ə-...-o:	ə-...-o	ə-...-o

¹⁰This has been noted otherwise only for Ugaritic. See also the bibliography.

¹¹-e:t is characteristic of the intensive-conative theme and of passives.

¹²V = an internal vowel change.

¹³Depending on the type of verb. Many classes have both V and -i.

(Table 16 continued)

		M	\hat{S}	S
Pl.	3 m.	yə-...-əm	yə-	yə-
	3 f.	tə-...-ən	tə-...-ən	tə-...-ən
	2 m.	tə-...-əm	tə-	tə-
	2 f.	tə-...-ən	tə-...-ən	yə-...-ən
	1 c.	nə-	nə-	nə-

Although internal vowel change in M and \hat{S} distinguishes persons, vowel changes also occur in M, and to some extent in H, whenever a syllable is closed. The following examples show that this principle operates differently in M and H, the former being more conservative in this respect. The equivalent \hat{S} and S forms do not show this. Thus:

For the PERFECT:

TABLE 17

	M	H	\hat{S}	S
Sing.				
3 m.	kəto:b	kəto:b	kə'tɔb	kə'tɔb ¹⁴
3 f.	kətəbo:t	kətəbo:t	kəti'ɔt	kə'toboh
2 m.	kə'təbk	kəto:bək	kə'tɔbk	kə'tɔbk
2 f.	kə'təbɔ̃	kəto:bəɔ̃	kə'tɔbɔ̃	kə'tɔbɔ̃
1 c.	kə'təbk	kəto:bək	kə'tɔbk	kə'tɔbk
Du.				
3 m.	kətəbo:	kətəbo:	kəti'o	kə'tobo
3 f.	kətəbto:	kətəbto:	kətab'to	kə'tobəto
2 c.	kə'təbki	kəto:b(ə)ki	kə'tɔbɔ̃i	kə'tɔbki
1 c.	kə'təbki	kəto:b(ə)ki	kə'tɔbɔ̃i	kə'tɔbki
Pl.				
3 m.	kə'tawb	kə'təbəm	kə'tɔb	'kətab
3 f.	kəto:b	kəto:b	kə'tɔb	'kətab
2 m.	kə'təbkəm	kəto:b(ə)kəm	kə'tɔbkum	kə'tɔbkən
2 f.	kə'təbkən	kəto:b(ə)kən	kə'tɔbkən	kə'tɔbkən
1 c.	kəto:bən	kəto:bən	kə'tɔ:n	kə'tobən

The subj. has the same affixes as the imperf., but the 2f.s. always has final -i in M and, in all of the languages except H, an l- prefix occurs before certain of the forms. In \hat{S} and S pl. forms show V. Thus compare the imperf. and subj. forms conjugated below.¹⁵

¹⁴Though there is considerable variety in S (as in \hat{S}) in the formation of simple verbs of this class, it should be pointed out that in most disyllables the penultimate syllable is prominent (stressed). However there are disadvantages to transcribing the base-form as kɔb in this context.

¹⁵The verbs are M *kəko:z* 'to stand upright, stick in the ground'; H *ləbo:d* 'to shoot, hit'; \hat{S} *kə'ɔs* 'to kick' and S *k'əbɔɔ* 'to bury'.

TABLE 18

IMPERFECT:

	M	Ḥ	Š	S
Sing.				
3 m.	yəro:kəz	yəlo:bəd	yə'roʃəs	yə'k'abər
3 f.	təro:kəz	təlo:bəd	tə'roʃəs	tə'k'abər
2 m.	təro:kəz	təlo:bəd	tə'roʃəs	tə'k'əbər
2 f.	təre:kəz	təle:bəd	tə'rīʃəs	tə'k'əbir
1 c.	əro:kəz	əlo:bəd	ə'roʃəs	ə'k'abər
Du.				
3 m.	yərkəzo:	yəlbədo:	yəraʃ'so	yə'k'abəro
3 f.	tərkəzo:	təlbədo:	təraʃ'so	tə'k'abəro
2 c.	tərkəzo:	təlbədo:	təraʃ'so	tə'k'abəro
1 c.	ərkəzo:	əlbədo:	əraʃ'so	ə'k'abəro
Pl.				
3 m.	yə'raʃzəm	yəlo:bədəm	yə'roʃəs	yə'k'obər
3 f.	tə'raʃzən	təlo:bədən	tə'roʃəsən	tə'k'abərən
2 m.	tə'raʃzəm	təlo:bədəm	tə'roʃəs	tə'k'obər
2 f.	tə'raʃzən	təlo:bədən	tə'roʃəsən	tə'k'abərən
1 c.	nəro:kəz	nəlo:bəd	nə'roʃəs	nə'k'abər

SUBJUNCTIVE:

	M	Ḥ	Š	S
Sing.				
3 m.	yərke:z	yəlbe:d	'yərʃəs	l-ik'ber
3 f.	tərke:z	təlbe:d	'tərʃəs	tək'ber
2 m.	tərke:z	təlbe:d	'tərʃəs	tək'ber
2 f.	tərke:zi	təlbe:d	'tirʃəs	tək'ber
1 c.	l-ərke:z	əlbe:d	'l-ərʃəs	l-ək'ber
Du.				
3 m.	yərkəzo:	yəlbədo:	yəraʃ'so	l-ik'bero
3 f.	tərkəzo:	təlbədo:	təraʃ'so	tək'bero
2 c.	tərkəzo:	təlbədo:	təraʃ'so	tək'bero
1 c.	l-ərkezo:	əlbədo:	l-ərəʃ'so	l-ək'bero
Pl.				
3 m.	yərke:zəm	yəl'bədəm	yər'ʃəs	l-ik'ber
3 f.	tərkəzən	təl'bədən	tər'ʃəsən	tək'berən
2 m.	tərke:zəm	təl'bədəm	tər'ʃəs	tək'ber
2 f.	tərkəzən	təl'bədən	tər'ʃəsən	tək'berən
1 c.	nərke:z	nəlbe:d	'nərʃəs	nək'ber

The 2 f.s. forms with final *i* in MḤ can be presumed to occur since the distinction between *e:* and *i:* (as between *o:* and *u:*) is greatly weakened, and the mutation of *e:* to *i:* is therefore inadequately distinctive.

3.1.4. SUBJUNCTIVE IN $-(ə)n$

The verb in M¹⁶ and \bar{S} has a further subj. formation which, to the best of my knowledge, is not described in the earlier literature. It is possible therefore that comparable forms do not occur south of Dhofar. These forms have an $-(ə)n$ suffix and seem to correspond formally to the MODUS ENERGICUS jussive formations in Arabic, but in M and \bar{S} they occur only in sentences involving unreal conditions (for examples see Notes on syntax below).

Forms of this category show in \bar{S} vowel and syllabic changes, as well as suffixation of $-n$. In M such changes are confined to the change of final syllable $-o:-$ to $-e:-$ and the shortening of a long vowel on syllable closure. Thus (PERF./SUBJ./ $-n$ forms):

TABLE 19

M	<i>təʃo:l/yəʃfe:l/yəʃfe:lən</i>	'to spit'
\bar{S}	<i>kūz/'yɔkməz/yək'mizən</i>	'to jump'
M	<i>sə:ləm/yəslo:m/yəsle:mən</i>	'to be safe'
\bar{S}	<i>'xeləʃ/yxa'loʃ/yəx'liʃən</i>	'to stay on after s.o.'
M	<i>dəl/yədle:l/yədle:lən</i>	'to know (a road)'
\bar{S}	<i>kəb/'yɔkkəb/yəkbi:ən</i>	'to get down'
M	<i>ʔa:mo:r/yaʔme:r/yaʔme:rən</i>	'to say'
\bar{S}	<i>ʔər/yaʔ'mer/yaʔ'mirən</i>	
M	<i>zəha:ʃ/yəzho:ʃ/yəz'hayʃən</i>	'to move along sitting'
\bar{S}	<i>lə'hak'/yəl'hək'/yəl'hik'ən</i>	'to catch up with'
M	<i>ho:rək/yəko:rək/yə'harkən (2a)</i>	'to move'
\bar{S}	<i>xurb/yə'xɔrb/yə'xurbən (2a)</i>	'to spoil'
M	<i>hənsə:m/yə'hansəm/yə'hansəmən</i>	'to breathe'
\bar{S}	<i>ed'her/'yədhar/yəd'hirən</i>	'to lean on'
M	<i>əxtəlo:ʃ/yəxtəlo:ʃ/yəxtələ:ʃən</i>	'to let s.o. down'
\bar{S}	<i>ax'te'leʃ/yəx'te'loʃ/yəx'te'liʃən</i>	
M	<i>'ʃatərət/yəʃte:rət/yəʃ'tərtən</i>	'to relent'
\bar{S}	<i>'γətbər/yəγte:r/yəγte:rən</i>	'to gather' (intr.: pl. forms)
M	<i>ʃa:go:l/yəʃε:gəl/yəʃε:gələn</i>	'to hasten'
\bar{S}	<i>ʃaʔ'ðer/yə'ʃaʔðer/y'ʃaʔðərən</i>	'to ask pardon'
M	<i>ʃəme:səh/yəʃme:səh/yəʃ'mashən</i>	'to shake hands'
\bar{S}	<i>ʃə'fedər/yəʃ'fedər/yəʃ'fiðərən</i>	'to outstrip'
M	<i>ənh'ərbo:t'/yən'k'ərbət'/yən'k'ərbət'ən</i>	'to hold up the hands in horror'
\bar{S}	<i>ənðəb'ðeb/yən'ðəbðəb/yən'ðəbðəbən¹⁷</i>	'to drag behind'

¹⁶H exx. are limited to one or two forms, and I was unable to elicit further exx. (but only perf. forms) on a visit in early 1974. It is certain however that they exist though they may be obsolescent.

¹⁷If this form is correct, then the suffix is $-n$, not $-ən$.

3.1.5. THE PASSIVE

Passive forms occur in the MSA languages, though this is pointed out in the SAE material only for Socotri. Thus for M¹⁸ and Š (PERF./IMPERF./SUBJ. Active forms are bracketed):

TABLE 20

M	(<i>rəfo:s/yə'rəfs/yərfə:s</i>)	<i>ərfe:s/yarfo:s/yarfo:s</i>	'to kick'
	(<i>lə:təy/yəlo:təy/yəwte:γ</i>)	<i>əwte:γ/yawto:γ/yawto:γ</i>	'to kill'
	(<i>rə's'awn/yəro:s'ən/yərs'a:n</i>)	<i>ərs'a:n/yars'o:n/yars'o:n</i>	'to bind'
	(<i>həwk'a:/yəhəwk'a:/yə'həwk'a</i>)	<i>əwk'a:/yawk'a:/yawk'a:</i>	'to put'
	(<i>həglo:l/yəhəglo:l/yə'haggəl</i>)	<i>əgle:l/yəgəlo:l/yəgəlo:l</i>	'to boil'
Š	(<i>rə'fəs/yə'rəfəs/yərfəs</i>)	<i>rə'fis/yə'r'fəs/yə'r'fəs</i>	'to kick'
	(<i>lə:təy/yə'lətaγ/yəltəγ</i>)	<i>əl'tiγ/yəl'təγ/yəl'təγ</i>	'to kill'
	(<i>ε'guḥən/yə'guḥən/yə'gəḥən</i>)	<i>'ε'ge'ḥin</i>	'to trim a camel's eyelash'
	(<i>εg'lel/yəg'lel/yəggəl</i>)	<i>εg'lil/yə'ge'ləl/yəg'ləl</i>	'to boil'

Such forms commonly occur in M and Š only in the simple verb, though there are some examples above derived from the causative theme.

3.1.6. NON-OCCURRENCE OF *t*-

Certain verbal forms in Š and S are characterized by the non-occurrence of the expected *t*-prefix in 2nd person and 3 f. forms.¹⁹ This phenomenon is confined to certain categories of form. It occurs in both S and Š in passive forms and in imperf. and subj. forms of causative and intensive-conative verbs.

Thus from Š *rə'fis* 'to be kicked':

TABLE 21

	IMPERFECT ²⁰	SUBJUNCTIVE ²¹
Sing.		
3 m.	<i>yə'r'fəs</i>	<i>yə'r'fəs</i>
2 m.	<i>yə'r'fəs</i>	(<i>l-</i>) <i>ir'fəs</i>
2 f.	<i>yə'r'fis</i>	(<i>l-</i>) <i>ir'fis</i>
Dual		
3 f.	<i>yərfə'so</i>	(<i>l-</i>) <i>irfə'so</i>
2 c.	<i>yərfə'so</i>	(<i>l-</i>) <i>irfə'so</i>
Pl.		
3 f.	<i>yə'r'fəsən</i>	(<i>l-</i>) <i>ir'fəsən</i>
2 m.	<i>yə'r'fes</i>	(<i>l-</i>) <i>ir'fes</i>
2 f.	<i>yə'r'fəsən</i>	(<i>l-</i>) <i>ir'fəsən</i>

¹⁸H examples are not given, but occur frequently in the texts I recorded in early 1974.

¹⁹On this phenomenon in S, see also bibliography.

²⁰Usually with the affixed particle *d-*, as: *d-ir'fəs* etc.

²¹3 m.sing/pl. forms often also have a prefixed *l-*.

Compare also the following 3 f.s. forms as against the bracketed base-form (3 m.s. perf.):

TABLE 22

S	IMPERFECT	SUBJUNCTIVE	
('ənʃər)	'neʃər	'l-ənʃər	'to put, send forward' (caus.)
('dakdək)	'dakdək	-	'to tread' (4-lit.)
(dər)	dər	'l-adər	'to live' (hollow)
('erər)	'erərən	l-ə'ʔerir (2f.s.)	'to light' (intens.-con.)
('hibəs)	'hubəs	-	'to be imprisoned' (pass.)
Ŝ			
(ɛb'ni)	'(t)ona	l-ib'ne	'to build' (caus.) ²²
(kər'bel)	yəkiri'əl	l-ə'kərbəl	'to crawl'
(ɛ'ʕuləm)	(t-)ə'ʕulmən	'l-ə'ʕləm	'to teach' (intens.-con.) ²²

In both S and Ŝ intensive-conative verbs show some variation in usage. It can be noted that hollow verbs in S do not exhibit this feature.

3.2. The Morphology of the Noun

The substantive noun has two genders, masculine and feminine, and three numbers, singular, dual and plural. The dual is probably obsolescent except in S however.

FEMININE nouns, for the most part, are characterized by the endings MH *o:t/-e:t*, Ŝ *-ʔt/-'et* and S *-oh/-əh*, or by their allomorphs. For example:

TABLE 23

M	t'əl(ə)ʃo:t	'cream on warm milk'	nəx(ə)le:t	'date palm'
H	t'əl'fawt		nəx(ə)le:t	
Ŝ	t'iz'ʔət		nəx'let	
S	ət'loʃoh		'təm(ə)rəh	

It may be that the *-o-* ending is characteristic of tri-syllabic forms, and the *-e-* of disyllables, but in practice it is difficult to demonstrate that this occurs consistently because of the freedom with which anaptyxis occurs at consonant juncture, simultaneously with a contrary tendency to elide original short vowels. Thus in the above series the M forms are probably best represented phonologically as *t'ələʃo:t* and *nəxle:t* respectively, though *t'əlʃo:t* and *nəxəle:t* also occur.

The SOUND masculine PLURAL in MH is *-i:n*, in Ŝ *-'in* and in S *-(h)in*, and also *-(i)hən*.

The sound feminine plural in MH is *-o:tən*, *-'awtən* (less commonly *-tən*), Ŝ *-'eti*, *-'əti* (less often *-tə*); and S *-(ə)tən* (rarely *-itən*) and *-ə'nitən*. Thus:

²²The bracketed *t* indicates that the form occurs with and without the personal prefix.

TABLE 24

(MASCULINE):

MĤ	gəfɔ:n/gəfni:n	'eyebrow'
Š	'faʕɔr/fəʕʕin	'bull'
S	'dənɔb/'dənbhin	'tail'
	'k'aʕɔr/'k'aʕʕin	'projecting rock'
	'sɛɛd/sɛ'hədhən	'kid'

(FEMININE):

M	ɣəɡəno:t/ɣəɡə'nawtən	'girl'
	ʔa:təre:t/ʔa:'tərtən	'buttermilk: butterskin'
	ʔa:ʕde:t/ʔa:'ʕadtən	'upper arm'
H	ɣəɡəno:t/ɣəɡ(g)o:tən	'girl'
	ʔatəre:t/ʔa'tərtən	'butter-skin'
Š	ɣayb'jɔt/ɣəgi'nəti	'girl'
	ʕəʕi'det/ʕə'ʕədtə	'upper arm'
S	ʕəw'ginoh/ʕəwg'hinətən	'girl,
	'keloh/hal'ətə'nitən	'aunt'
	'ləʕən/lə'ʕantən	'tongue'
	nə'himeh/nəhi'mətən	'vulture'

All the sound masculine plural affixes would seem to correlate with Ethiopic *-a:n* though in words borrowed from Arabic (assimilated or not) it must be correlated with the sound plural ending of that language.

The DUAL in the MSA languages is formed by the affixation of *-i*. However, with one or two exceptions, duals occur in M, H and Š only in association with the number 2, and this *i* is thought to be part of the numeral. Thus a Mehri understands *ɣaygi θro:* 'two men' as *ɣayg iθro:* and will syllabicate in this way.

There are in M and Š a few duals however which can occur without a numeral, and it is interesting that these, in some cases, exhibit features that occur in neither singular nor plural. Thus (sing./dual/pl.), M *ɣayg*/'ɣawgi/ɣəyu:g, Š *ɣeig*/'yoʕi/ɣa:g 'man'; M *ɣəgge:t*/ɣəg'gawti/φ, Š *ɣa'zet*/ɣa'jəti/φ 'girl'.

Other duals function as plurals, and are so regarded by native speakers, as, e.g.: M 'nas'fi (< nas'f), Š 'fuʕ'hi (< 'foʕkah) 'halves'.

As would be expected of languages of the S. Semitic group, the MSA languages have BROKEN (internal) PLURALS. Some of the plural patterns (in general terms) show more similarity to those of Ethiopian languages than to those of Arabic. Thus, M *əmgəzərwo:t*/əmgəzo:ɾəw 'spine'; *k'əho:f*/*k'əhyo:f* 'stony ground'; *ayə:/ay'ayw* 'brother'; *yo:bər*/ɣə'wabbər 'heavily pregnant camel'; *gəwɬ/gə'wəɬt* 'chest' &c.

Another kind of internal plural of frequent occurrence would seem to have been developed within the MSA languages. In these the *i/e* of the final syllable of the singular becomes *o/u* in the plural form. For example MĤ *dərhe:s*/'dərho:s', Š *dər'hes*/'dər'həs' 'kid'; MĤ *məkleb*/'məhlo:b, Š *mah'leb*/*mah'ləb* 'unweaned camel calf': S 'əyɬəɬ/'əyɬəɬ 'kid'; 'ma'rhər/'ma'rhər 'demon'; 'fəlhi/'fəlho 'foal'; 'k'halhən/'k'halhən 'egg'; *nənhən*/*nənyhən* 'younger brother', &c.

3.3. Adjectives

Adjectives in the MSA languages normally exhibit two genders, masculine and feminine, and two numbers, singular and plural. In S dual forms have also been recorded but not for the other languages of the group. The plural of adjectives is often of common gender. There is considerable variation in adjective formations, but the examples listed (m.s., f.s./m.pl., f.pl. or /c.pl.) are fairly representative.

TABLE 25

M	<i>kə'raym, kə'raymət/ki:ro:m, ki:'ramtən</i>	'generous'
	<i>əwbo:n, əwbəne:t/le:bən</i>	'white'
Ḥ	<i>kə'rəm, kə'rəmət/kəre:m, kəre:mo:t</i>	'generous'
	<i>əlbə:n, əlbə'nayt/'ləbən</i>	'white'
Š	<i>'nis'an, n's'e'nut/ni's'un, n's'ə'niti</i>	'small'
	<i>lu:n, li:nət/li:nəti</i>	'white'
S	<i>'k'iyhan, 'k'iynoh/'k'iyhən, k'ən'hetən</i>	'small'
	<i>'ləbhan, lə'binəh/lə'bano, ləbhi'nətan²³</i>	'white'
	(du. m., lə'bani, du. f. ləbi'nati)	

There are certain apparently adjectival formations which are not inflected for gender or number, as e.g., M *'e:mər* 'huge' and *k'ə'rayb* 'near', Š *'k'e'rib* 'near', Ḥ *k'ə'rəb* 'near'.

There is a certain hazard in collecting information on S adjectives since nominal and verbal formations are used as adjectives, and occur side by side in the same paradigm. The occurrence of verbs in place of adjectives is commonly claimed as a fundamental characteristic of the Semitic languages, but is a great deal commoner in S than in the other MSA languages. An example is: *'riyom, ri'yemoh/'riyom, 'riyom* 'long', which of course is 'to be long', though positionally and functionally it does not differ from an adjective.

What seems to be confined to S is the indication of gender by vowel variation as in the examples (m.s., f.s./m.du., f.du./m.pl., f.pl.) in the table below.

TABLE 26

<i>'zəknən, 'zəknin/zək'nani, zək'nini/'zəknən,</i>	
<i>zə'konhən</i>	'fat'
<i>'kərkam, 'kərkim/kər'kami, kər'kimi/kər'kəmhən,</i>	
<i>kə'rakəm</i>	'yellow'
<i>'šiybab, 'šiybib/šiy'babi, šiy'bibi/šiy'bəbhən,</i>	
<i>ša'boyəb</i>	'old'
<i>'nəblhəl, 'nəblhil/nəb'loli, nəb'lili/nəb'ləlhən,</i>	
<i>nə'bolhəl</i>	'ruined'

3.4. The Numerals

The numerals in the MSA languages exhibit certain interesting features. The numbers 1-10 are set out in the table below (m./f.):

²³In S however many adjectives of colour have common pl. forms.

TABLE 27

	M	H
1	<i>t'a:t' /t'ayt'</i>	<i>t'a:d/t'ət</i>
2	<i>θəro:/θə'rayt</i>	<i>θəro:/θə'rət</i>
3	<i>ʃhəle:θ/ʃa:'θayt</i>	<i>ʃə'layʃ/ʃa:'fayt, ʃa:'θayt</i>
4	<i>'ʔarba/rəbo:t</i>	<i>ʔo:rba/rəbo:t</i>
5	<i>'xayməh/xəmmo:h</i>	<i>'xayməh/xəmmo:h</i>
6	<i>he:t/yəte:t</i>	<i>'hattəh/yəte:t</i>
7	<i>ho:ba/yə'bayt</i>	<i>ho:ba/hə'bayt</i>
8	<i>θəmo:ni/θəmənyɪ:t</i>	<i>θəmo:ni/θəməne:t</i>
9	<i>sɛ:/sa:t</i>	<i>sɛ:/sa:'ʔayt, sə'ʔayt</i>
10	<i>ʔo:ʃəh/ʔa:ʃəhe:t</i>	<i>ʔo:ʃəh/ʔaʃəhe:t</i>
	<i>Ŝ</i>	<i>S</i>
1	<i>t'ad/t'it</i>	<i>t'ad/t'əy</i>
2	<i>θəh/θəət</i>	<i>trə/trih</i>
3	<i>ʃha'liθ/ʃa'θet</i>	<i>'ʃilɛ/'ʃaʔtəh</i>
4	<i>'ʔorbaʕ/ʔarba'ʕət</i>	<i>'ʔorbaʕ/ʔarbaʕah</i>
5	<i>xɪʃ/xɪʃ</i>	<i>'hemih/'hamoh, 'hamoy</i>
6	<i>ʃet/ʃtət</i>	<i>yhaʔt, yaʔt/'hyəʔtəh</i>
7	<i>ʃo:ʕ/ʃba'ʕət</i>	<i>'yhobəʔ/'hyəbʕah</i>
8	<i>'θāni/θe:'nit</i>	<i>tə'moni/'təmənih</i>
9	<i>səʕ/sa'ʕayt</i>	<i>saʕ/'seʕah</i>
10	<i>'ʕəʃəh/ʕa'ʃirət</i>	<i>'ʕəʃəh/ʕa'ʃirəh</i>

The number "1" is an adjective. The number "2" is used with nouns in the dual. The numerals 3-10 correlate with nouns in the early Semitic manner, namely masculine numbers enumerate feminine nouns and vice-versa; thus M *he:t yəne:θ*, *Ŝ ʃet y'nəθ* '6 women', and H *xəmmo:(h)* *ʔəyu:g* '5 men' and *xaymə(h) nɪ:θ* '5 women'.

In M and *Ŝ*, and less completely in H, there is a series of numerals for counting days above 2. The word for 'day' is of fem. gender. These numbers are:

TABLE 28

M	<i>Ŝ</i>	
<i>ʃe:ləθ (yu:m)</i>	<i>'ʃeləθ (ɛ:m)</i>	3 (days)
<i>nɪ:ba</i>	<i>nɪ:ʕ</i>	4
<i>'xaymə(h)</i>	<i>xɪ:ʃ</i>	5
<i>ʃi:dət</i>	<i>ʃet</i>	6
<i>ʃi:ba</i>	<i>ʃi:ʕ</i>	7
<i>θi:mən</i>	<i>θɪ:n</i>	8
<i>tɪ:ʃa</i>	<i>'təʃəʕ</i>	9
<i>'ʔayʃəh</i>	<i>'ʕəʃəh</i>	10

From 6 to 9 the masc. numerals may be used instead of this series.

For H I have *ri:ba yi:m* '4 days' in a story, but was given no further examples on questioning.

The numbers 11-19 are often replaced by the equivalent colloquial Arabic numbers, but it is evident that the old system is different in two ways: firstly the numbers 13-19 are followed by singular or pl. nouns (the plural being more usual), and secondly the two elements of this series are both masculine or both feminine. Thus compare the M examples: *ʔa:ʃəre:t wə-ʃa:θayt ʔəyu:g* (or *ʔayg*) '13 men' and *ʔo:ʃəh wə-ʃhəle:θ ʔəne:θ* (or *te:θ*) '13 women' with the colloquial Arabic *ṯalatta:ʃar rajja:l/hirmah* '13 men/women' and Classical Arabic *ṯala:ṯata- ʿasara rajula:* '13 men' and *ṯala:ṯata- ʿaʃrata mraʔah* '13 women'.

In MH the series 20-90 has been replaced by colloquial Arabic numbers, and this is usually the case also in S. However Š and S preserve some of the older series as e.g. Š *ʃhə'ləθ* '30' and S *ʿaʃərah* '20', *ʃəloh* '30'.

The ORDINALS in MH are formed on the same pattern as the *nomen agentis*. Since Š and S avoid the use of the higher ordinals these may be new formations; and this is also indicated by the kind of differences that appear as between M and H and by clear Arabic influences. As against this the fem. form meaning 'sixth' in M is undoubtedly based on the ancient root. Thus compare:

TABLE 29

	M		H	
	m.	f.	m.	f.
1st	<i>ha:wí:l</i>	<i>ha:wəle:t</i>	<i>ha:wí:l</i>	<i>ha:wəle:t</i>
2nd	<i>məʃe:ʔəh</i>	<i>məʃəʔəre:t</i>	<i>məʃə:ʔəh</i>	<i>məʃəʔəre:t</i>
3rd	<i>ʃo:ləθ</i>	<i>ʃəwθe:t</i>	<i>ʃe:ləʃ²⁴</i>	<i>ʃe:lʃət²⁴</i>
4th	<i>ro:bəʔ</i>	<i>əh'bayt</i>	<i>re:baʔ</i>	<i>re:bat</i>
5th	<i>xo:məs</i>	<i>xəmhe:t</i>	<i>xa:məh</i>	<i>xa:mhət</i>
6th	<i>so:dəs</i>	<i>ʃədθe:t</i>	<i>he:tt</i>	<i>he:ttət</i>
7th	<i>so:bəʔ</i>	<i>sə'bāyt</i>	<i>he:baʔ</i>	<i>he:baʔt</i>
8th	<i>θo:mən</i>	<i>θəmne:t</i>	<i>θe:mən</i>	<i>θe:mnət</i>
9th	<i>to:seʔ</i>	<i>tə'sayt</i>	<i>te:saʔ</i>	<i>te:saʔt</i>
10th	<i>ʔayʃəh</i>	<i>ʔa:ʃəre:t</i>	<i>ʔa:ʃəh</i>	<i>ʔa:ʃərt</i>

3.5. The Demonstratives

The demonstratives are set out below (m., f./pl).

TABLE 30

	'this'	'that'
M	<i>ʃo:məh, ʃi:məh/əlyo:məh</i>	<i>ʃe:k, ʃayk/əlye:k</i> or <i>ʃa:kəməh, ʃəkəməh</i>
H	<i>ʃa:, ʃi: or</i> <i>'ʃənəməh, 'ʃənəməh/'lənəməh²⁵</i>	<i>ʃe:k, ʃi:k/lək</i> or <i>ʃa:kəməh, 'ʃəkəməh/'lələməh</i>
Š	<i>'ʃənu, 'ʃinu/i'ʒənu</i>	<i>'ʃə'kun, 'ʃi'kun/i'ʒək²⁶</i>
S	<i>da, dəʃ &</i> <i>'dədha, 'didha/'əlhə</i>	<i>dək, dəʃ or</i> <i>'dədbuk, 'didbuk/'əlbuk</i>

²⁴And other variants, some closer to M.

²⁵And *'lələməh*.

²⁶ʒ is of course a palatalized *l*.

The elements in the MH demonstratives are the base-form and a *-məh* suffix which occurs as a deictic element in other words as e.g. M *'bauməh* 'here'. H and Š have an *-n-* element which occurs as a deictic in other compounds, as e.g. S *t'a(na)*, Š *t'anu* and H *hawt'o:nəməh* (and *wət'o:h*) 'thus'. The S forms *dədha*, etc. are *də-d-ha* (*ha*) 'this which (is) + here' and similarly *dədbuk* is *də-d-buk* '... + there'.

3.6. The Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns present certain interesting features in relation to the other South Semitic languages. The INDEPENDENT forms are set out below:

TABLE 31

	M	H	Š	S
sing.				
3 m.	<i>ha(h)</i>	<i>ha(h)</i>	<i>ħe</i>	<i>yhe</i>
3 f.	<i>se:(h)</i>	<i>se:(h)</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>
2 m.	<i>he:t</i>	<i>he:t</i>	<i>het</i>	<i>ε:(hən)</i>
2 f.	<i>he:t</i>	<i>he:t</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>i:(hən)</i>
1 c.	<i>ho(h)</i>	<i>ho(h)</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>'ho(hən)</i>
du.				
3 c.	<i>ħay</i>	<i>hi:</i>	<i>ħi</i>	<i>yhi</i>
2 c.	<i>ə'tay</i>	<i>əti:</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>
1 c.	<i>ə'ħay</i>	<i>əti:</i>	<i>ħi</i>	<i>ki</i>
pl.				
3 m.	<i>he:m</i>	<i>ho:m</i>	<i>ħum</i>	<i>yhən</i>
3 f.	<i>se:n</i>	<i>se:n</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>sen</i>
2 m.	<i>ʔəte:m</i>	<i>ʔəto:m</i>	<i>tum</i>	<i>tən</i>
2 f.	<i>ʔəte:n</i>	<i>ʔəte:n</i>	<i>tən</i>	<i>tən</i>
1 c.	<i>ənha:</i>	<i>ənha:</i>	<i>nha</i>	<i>han(hən)</i>

The earliest form of the 3 m.s. is represented by Š, since MH initial *h* and S initial *yħ* can both be related to *ħ*. The 1 c.s. seems to relate to an earlier hypothetical form *(h)a:*, a form lacking the *-n(a)* suffix that is widely attested in Sem. The dual forms include a 1 c. form: as was mentioned above in the discussion of the verb, the MSA languages alone attest 1 c. dual forms unequivocally.

The SUFFIXED personal pronouns in M and H differ according to whether they are affixed to singular or plural nouns or to certain verb forms and prepositions²⁷ (sing. noun/pl. noun/verb or preposition). In Š the affix to pl. nouns, to prepositions, and to certain verb forms²⁷ is the same (s. noun/pl. noun, prep. and verb), while in S there is only one series of suffixes. Thus:

²⁷The verb forms are those (principally 3 m.s. perfect) that earlier had a final vowel which carried the stress on affixation. Similarly most prepositions earlier ended in a vowel.

TABLE 32

	M	H	\bar{S}	S
sing.				
3 m.	-əh/-hɛ/-i:h	-əh/-iəh/-'əh	-š/-ɛš	-š ²⁸
3 f.	-əs/-sɛ/-i:s	-əs/-iəs/-i:s	-s/-ɛs	-s
2 m.	-ək/-kɛ/-u:k	-ək/-iək/-u:k	-k/-ɛk	-k
2 f.	-əš/-šɛ/-ɛ:š	-əš/-iəš/-əš	-š/-ɛš	-š
1 c.	-i/-yɛ/-əy	-i/-yɛ/-ənɪ(yə)	-i/-i	-i
du.				
3 c.	-hi/-ihi/-əhi	-hi/-ihi/-əhi	-ši/-ɛši	-hi
2 c.	-ki/-iki/-əki	-ki/-iki/-əki	-ši/-ɛši	-ki
1 c.	-ki/-iki/-əki	-ki/-iki/-əki	-ši/-ɛši	-ki
pl.				
3 m.	-həm/-ihəm/-i:həm	-həm/-ihəm/-u:həm	-hum/-ɔhum	-(y)hən
3 f.	-sən/-isən/-i:sən	-sən/-isən/-i:sən	-sen/-ɛsen	-sən
2 m.	-kəm/-ikəm/-i:kəm	-kəm/-ikəm/-u:kəm	-kum/-ɔkum	-kən
2 f.	-kən/-ikən/-i:kən	-kən/-ikən/-i:kən	-kən/-ɛkən	-kən
1 c.	-ən/-iən/-i:n	-ən/-iən/-ayn	-ən/-ɛn	-ən

In Socotri suffixed personal pronouns are rarely affixed to nouns and verbs. Thus 'my father' is *di-ho baba* 'of-me the father', and *la:taʿ tək* 'he has killed you', etc.

In M, H and \bar{S} the personal suffixes are affixed to definite nouns. The definite article *a-* is prefixed only to nouns whose initial element is voiced or glottalized consonant.²⁹

A few examples will make these various points clear. Compare M *bayt* 'house', *a'bətk* 'your house'; *əbyu:t* 'houses', *ab'yətkə* 'your (s.) houses' and *ab'yətikəm* 'your (pl.) houses': *rəfo:s* 'he kicked', *rəfsu:k* 'he kicked you', *rəfsi:həm* 'he kicked them': *l-* 'on', *lu:k* 'on you' and *li:kəm* 'on you'. Compare also \bar{S} *kəl* 'all', *kəlx* 'all of it'; *i'yel* 'camels', *i'yel'elš* 'his camels', *i'yel'əhum* 'their camels'; *lo:d* (*lbd*) 'he shot', *li:'dəhum* 'he shot them'.

3.7. The Particles and Adverbs

The MSA languages have in common the simple PREPOSITIONS, namely *b(ə)-* 'in; with', *h(ə)-* 'to, for', *k(ə)-* 'with', *l(ə)-* 'on, against', *mən* 'from', and *t(ə)-*, the accusative marker of personal pronouns. Others are etymologically close, as e.g. MHS (*m-*) *bi:n*, \bar{S} *mun* 'between'; MH *'āa:r*, \bar{S} *'de'r*, *S t'ahar* (with which compare Southern M *t'a:r*) 'upon'; MH *sa(:)r*, \bar{S} *set*, *S sar* 'behind'; MH *ənxa(:)li*, \bar{S} *nxin*, *S nhat* 'below'; M *fəno:hən*, *fənw-*, H *fə:n*, *fən-*, \bar{S} *'fə'nɛ*, *fən-*, \bar{S} *'fənə* 'before'; and MH *ba:d*, \bar{S} *ba'd* 'after'. This last however may be borrowed from Arabic.

Certain others do not occur in all of the languages. Thus \bar{S} *(ʔə)d* 'to', H *wə-*, but unsuffixed *wəl* and M *təwo:li* are not comparable. With MH *bərk* 'in' contrast \bar{S} *'ak'*, and with MH *ta* 'up to' contrast *S 'aʃ*, *ʔaʃ*. \bar{S} *kīn* 'from' and *S kən* 'from, with'; \bar{S} *yəl*, *S diəl* 'towards' and \bar{S} *'an* 'from, than' do not occur in MH.

\bar{S} has other prepositions which do not occur (as such) in the other MSA languages, as *tel*

²⁸Occasionally *-h*.

²⁹This statement needs amplification, for which see my article listed in the bibliography.

(M *ha(:)l*) 'in the company of', *ʔer* 'towards', *kakʔel* 'inside', *ʔemt* (S *ʔamt* 'direction') 'towards' etc.

Ḥ has the prepositions *əm-bu:n-* and *ma:to:d* 'after' which do not occur in M.

The more important ADVERBS OF PLACE are: MHS *bo(h)*, *Ṣ bun* 'here'; MH *kəlo:k*, *Ṣ lhən* and *ʔokun*, S *buk* 'there'. In MH the most commonly occurring forms have a final deictic element *-məh*, thus M *bauməh*, *kəʔəkəməh* and Ḥ *bu:məh*, *kəlo:kəməh*. In *Ṣ* the comparable element is *-n*. These elements occur in a number of other particles. S has also a *ka* particle meaning 'here' but this occurs most commonly in compounds, such as: *ʔaf-ka* 'hither' (also *dī-boh*); *ləka* 'there', *dī-d-ka* 'this' (see also above) and *kaʔoʔo* 'here'. The *-to(ʔo)* element in the last example occurs as an element in other compound particles.

The common ADVERBS OF MANNER are M *wə-tʔo:(-məh)*, Ḥ *wə-tʔo:-nə-məh*, *Ṣ tʔanu*, S *tʔa(na)* and *ʔətʔa* 'thus'; M *məkən*, Ḥ *məkən*, *Ṣ məkən*, S *dilak* and *ki(yhə)n* 'much'; MHS *ʔaxərəh*, S *ʔaxərəh* 'together' and MH *kənək*, S *kanak*, S *ʔənək* 'back'.

The *tʔa* element 'thus' occurs as an element in many other MHS particles.

The common ADVERBS OF TIME are: M *sʔəro:məh* (viz. *sʔə-ro:-məh*), Ḥ *no:sʔəro(h)* (viz. *no:-sʔə-ro*), S *naʔsʔanu* (viz. *naʔ-sʔa-nu*) and in some dialects *naʔa*, S *naʔa* 'now'; M *so:bər*, Ḥ *sʔe:bər*, *Ṣ dayman* (from Arabic), S *dəhər* 'always'; MH *ka:wi:l*, *Ṣ ʔənʔet*, S *ʔanə* and *bə:* 'before, earlier'; and M *məyo:hən*, *Ṣ myəro* and S *lətʔ* 'then, later' (for which in Ḥ the prep. phrases *əmbu:nəs* and *ma:to:dəs* are used).

The particles denoting times of the day are for the most part of nominal origin, as e.g. MH *yəmo:(h)*, *Ṣ šker*, S *ker* 'to-day'; MH *yəmšī:*, *Ṣ ʔəmšīn* 'yesterday'; MH *ge:hməh*, *Ṣ kʔaʔerəh* 'tomorrow'; M *yəlli:ləh*, Ḥ *əlli:ləh*, *Ṣ əlʔayni* 'in the evening'; MH *kə-so:bək*, *Ṣ k-ʔasʔaf*, S *lə-sʔabək* and *lə-ʔoši* 'in the morning'; MH *yəllə:(h)*, *Ṣ mənʔinəm*, *Ṣ ʔilən* 'last night', and MH *bə-kəllayʔ*, *Ṣ ʔəsəʔi* 'at night'.

The INTERROGATIVES of the above categories also show a fair correlation, as e.g. M *kə*, Ḥ *ko:nək*, *Ṣ hutun* and *hun*, S *ʔoʔo* 'where'; MH *mayt*, *Ṣ mit*, S *miʔito* 'when'; M *hešən*, Ḥ *kašən*, *Ṣ mənʔe*, S *ʔoʔo* 'why'; MHS *kəm*, *Ṣ ʔəmʔe* 'how much' and M *hi:bo:(h)*, Ḥ *həbo:(h)*, *Ṣ ʔə* and *ʔəl* (prob. *i+bə+l*), S *(ʔi)ʔə* and *ʔiʔəl* 'how'.

There is relatively little correlation in the CONJUNCTIONS however, except where these are borrowed from Arabic. Thus M *h:am*, Ḥ *ʔam*, S *her* (and on the coast *hel*), S *kaʔamme* 'if' (real conditions); M *hi:s*, Ḥ *ʔəs*, *Ṣ hasʔ* and *kakʔət*, S *ləl*, *məʔnəl*, *kə*, *saʔat* 'when'; but all have the common Sem. *wə-*, though this is realised in *Ṣ* as *bə-*.

The VERB MODIFIERS are of considerable interest. In M, *Ṣ* and S a marker, *l-*, is prefixed to subjunctive forms of the verb which begin with a vowel (after elision of the glottal stop, and in S also after elision of initial *y*).

In Mehri the particle *ə-* and in *Ṣ* *d-* is prefixed to the imperfect when it has a present (continuous) meaning, as e.g. M *ə-yo:mər* 'he says, is saying' as against *yo:mər* 'he (always) says'.

This particle is identical in M with the relative pronoun/genitival particle. In *Ṣ* however both of these are now *ə*, the particle *ə* occurring only in the conditional particle *ə(-əl)* 'if (not)'. Moreover the particle *d-* is usually prefixed to the future particle *ka*, as e.g. *d-ka-yəktub* 'he will write'.

In MH the future is expressed either by a verb of wishing (M 3m.s. *yəko:m*, Ḥ *yəxo:m*) or by the active participle, as for example *əko:na*, *ənkayta* '(I, you &c.) will come'. In S the future is expressed by means of the auxiliary *ʔəygəb* 'to wish'. In *Ṣ* the future is expressed as shown in the preceding paragraph, the verb being in the subjunctive.

In MH the verb may be modified by the use of the particle *bər*, *bər* whose function is similar

to that of *qad* in Arabic. It is to be noted that *Š ber*, *S ber* are, however, auxiliary verbs. Similarly the place of MH particle *ʔa:d* 'still' 'yet' is taken in *Š* by the verb *ʕad*, and in *S* by the verb *ʕad*. Both these auxiliaries can occur together in *S*, as *bīroh ʕadoh ʕaf-ha* 'she has already been here.'

S has the interesting modifier *ʃone ha-* which, with a subjunctive verb, 'on the point of'.

4. NOTES ON SYNTAX

The syntax of the MSA languages is well described in a fairly recent publication by E. Wagner (see bibliography) on the basis of the texts of the Südarabische Expedition. My work up to the present has consisted of collecting in Socotra, Oman and the United Arab Emirates morphological and lexical material and texts. Until the texts have been thoroughly analysed any categorical statements on syntax would be inappropriate.

It would be fair to say however that while the Socotri and Mehri texts of the SAE are, broadly speaking, reliable, the same is not true of the Šheri texts. This is even more true of the grammar by Bittner published on the basis of the SAE texts, which is quite misleading.

I shall confine myself therefore to the discussion of one or two points only.

Wagner (p. 127) points out that, in Harsūsi SUBJUNCTIVE forms beginning with a vowel (after elision of the initial glottal stop), the subj. marker *l* does not occur in the examples he is discussing. It can be confirmed that this marker occurs only rarely in *Ḥ*.

Similarly it can be confirmed that Harsūsi normally NEGATES with *laʔ(la:)*, as against *M əl ... la(:)ʔ*. Thus *M əl ha(h) gi:d əlaʔ*, *Ḥ ha(h) gəd əlaʔ* 'he is not good'.

Certain kinds of CONDITIONAL sentences involving unreal conditions are not attested in the *M* and *Š* material collected by the SAE. The special verb forms involved are mentioned briefly above (see Table 19).

The following simple examples illustrate this kind of sentence: *Š ʔ-əl kun 'ʕogəz ləʔ, (ʔ)əl yəs'kiʃən bə-yk'a'la(ʕ)n xadi'metš ləʔ*, 'If he were not lazy, he would not have stayed and left his work' and *ʔ-əl kun mən'šerəd ləʔ, (ʔ)əl yəzhln yə bə-šum (ə)d-ʔeʃ* 'If he weren't mad, he would not have come to people who were asleep'; *M lu(:) ʔəho:gəs wət'o:məh, l-ak'a:n ʔə-na(:)ka(:)k te:k (ə)'laʔ* (or ... *l-ənke:n te:k ə'laʔ*), 'If I had thought so, I would not have come to you' and *lu-(ə)l əmzo:z ə'laʔ, yak'a:n šəy dəre:həm* 'If I did not smoke, I would have money'; *Ḥ lu(:) 'šəni yəwa:zi 'məken, ək'a:n šo:təmək 'gələm* 'If I had a lot of money, I would buy a pen'.

In *Ḥ* the perfect is often substituted for the verbal forms with suffixed *-n* in such sentences, and I have no examples of *-n* forms except for the verb *wə:k'a* 'to be'.

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The article presented here appeared as the English resumé to I.M.Diakonoff's *Sumer: State and Society in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Moscow 1959. This book's publication marked a turning point in Assyriological studies, for, as the first exposé of the Russian school of Assyriology to become widely known in the West, it opened the way for future meaningful exchanges between Western and Soviet Assyriologists. I.M.Diakonoff stands at the head of two generations of Soviet Assyriologists, a major portion of the second generation having studied under him at the University of Leningrad. The introduction provides a review of the major contributions by Diakonoff available in western languages.

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Forms of the alleged irregular and defective verb *našš, reconstructed as occurring in Middle and Neo-Assyrian texts, are in fact to be understood as forms of the verb našû—and hence *našš is to be stricken from the dictionaries. The argumentation is based on five considerations. (1) Forms assigned to našû and *našš respectively are in perfect complementary distribution: missing forms of našû are covered by *našš and vice versa. (2) Semantically, both verbs are used in exactly the same function. (3) The paradigm is morphologically perfect in the sense that all forms of *našš conform to the paradigm of našû as known from the Old Assyrian period (in which no forms of *našš are attested). (4) There is firm evidence for the validity of the change /š/ > /s/ in the phonological system of Neo-Assyrian. (5) Writings with <ša> and <su> stand for phonemic /ssa/ and /ssu/.

Issue 2: C. Saporetti, *Some Considerations on the Stelae of Assur*

The publication of new texts has led to the identification of some of the eponyms mentioned in the steles of Assur. An analysis of the data results in a negative conclusion with regard to the possibility of arranging the steles in groups characterized by internal chronological coherence. The original sequence has been lost, and even within the same group there are steles dated to disparate periods, even if they are all Middle-Assyrian. Possibly, a subdivision may be suggested between the steles placed to the North, which may be rather late, and those placed to the South, which may be dated to the period of greatest power—but this differentiation might be accidental.

Issue 3: F. M. Fales, *Notes on Some Nineveh Horse Lists*

The article contains new documentary evidence on horses in Neo-Assyrian times, including the copies, transliterations and translations of three hitherto unpublished and four other texts from Nineveh. The discussion of the data provides an analysis of the internal structure and the nature of the texts. In one group, the horses are classified according to their color, sex and (possibly) age; these texts probably represent the preliminary listing of incoming animals, drawn up for internal use by the administrative unit of the palace in charge of horses. Another group consists of memoranda on specific quantities of horses, which are reports sent daily to the king by the same administrative unit, to provide an "ephemeral" (i.e. not destined to archival files) account of events.

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